CHAPTERS ON PANCARĀTRA THEOLOGY IN THE AHIRBUDHNYA SAṂHITĀ [1]

Translation with critical notes

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INTRODUCTION : What is 'pañcarātra' ?

I

The first occurrence of the word *pañcarātra* appears to be in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 13.6.1, where Nārāyaṇa, one of the important names given to God in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, is presented as closely connected with a so-called Sattra ceremony to be performed on five successive days.[1] Having himself performed that ceremony, Nārāyaṇa is said to have surpassed all beings (*atyatiṣṭhat sarvāṇi bhūtāni*) and become this entire universe (*idaṃ sarvam abhavat*). In the Saṃhitā literatures again, God becomes this whole universe and yet exists beyond it.[2] The name Nārāyaṇa, on the other hand, is curiously absent in the *Bhagavad-gītā*, presumably the earliest text of the Bhāgavatas, who constitute an important and powerful cult of Vaiṣṇava tradition. Consequently, the assumption that the origin of the Pāñcarātra can be ascribed to about the time of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3]

1. Also cf. AV 11.7 (or 9). 11, TS 7.1.10, TMBr 21.13.6, 15.5.
2. See, e.g., AS chapters 5–7, MBh 12.336.76, 337.63.
3. Schrader, *Intro.*, p. 25. For the Puruṣa-sūkta and Nārāyaṇa, see Gonda, *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism*, pp. 24–33.

is a question to be put off until the early history of the cult and its *iṣṭadevatā* is sufficiently clarified with adequate data.

The early history of the Bhāgavatas is better known, because they have left many archaeological records throughout ancient times.[4] The earliest of these is the Besnagar pillar inscription, which dates back as early as the second century B.C.[5] It records that a Bhāgavata Heliodorus, who was a Greek ambassador, set up a Garuḍa-dhvaja in honor of "Vāsudeva, God of gods." This God is called "Bhagavat" in another Bhāgavata inscription found at Ghosundi and ascribed to the latter half of the first century B.C.[6] These two monuments demonstrate with sufficient certainty that the influence of the Bhāgavata cult, the name certainly meaning "adorers of Bhagavat," extended beyond its own immediate circle, and that by "Bhagavat" Vāsudeva must have been meant.[8] The analysis of the word *vāsudevaka* furnished by Pāṇini 4.3.98 takes the origin of the Bhāgavatas[7] back to at least the fifth century B.C. Pāṇini states that the suffix *-ka* [VUN] in that word bears the sense of *bhakti*; hence "Vāsudevaka" means an adherent or worshipper of Vāsudeva. Further, due to the identification of Vāsudeva with Kṛṣṇa implied in the *Mahābhāṣya*, the origin of the cult may go back to about the time of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, which refers to Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra (3.17.6).[9]

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4. Available materials are collected by Jaiswal in her *Origin*, pp. 170–210. Also cf. K.G. Goswami, *A Study of Vaiṣṇavism*, Calcutta, 1956.

5. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Calcutta 1965, pp. 90–1.

6. *op. cit.*, pp. 91–2.

7. The Śiva-bhāgavatas mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* on 5.2.76 may also go back to a pre-Pāṇini period (cf. Pāṇini 4.1.112).

8. For other evidence, see Raychaudhuri, *Materials*, pp. 22–3. Cf. VP 6.5.76.

9. For further information about the early history of vaiṣṇavism, see the books listed in Part III (§3) of my Introduction.

Whether the Pāñcarātrikas ever left similar archaeological records has not yet been ascertained.[10] Nor is the name Pāñcarātra or Pañcarātra attested until the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata* (12.321–39), which seems to be the earliest source of the later Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.[11]

The relation of the Pāñcarātrikas and the Bhāgavatas is obscure.[12] But a comparison of MBh 12.332.13–7 with 12.336.1–4 shows[13] that the Bhāgavatas[14] are to be distinguished from the *ekāntins*, whose *dharma* is called *pañcarātra* in MBh 12.336.76.[15] According to the first passage, the Bhāgavatas and Sāṃkhyas must proceed from the Sun god to all the four Vyūhas, one after another, in order to attain *mukti*, but it is explicit in the second passage that there is no need to go through the same process for the *ekāntins* who can enter directly into the highest Vāsudeva and obtain *mukti*.

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10. Cf. H.D. Smith, "Relevance of Epigraphic Evidence for the Pancaratra Studies," *Seminar on Inscriptions 1966*, ed. by R. Nagaswamy, Madras 1968, pp. 15–8.

11. For Śvetadvīpa (MBh 12.323.23ff.), see PauS 4.199, 9.208, 30.183, 31.209, 36.317, 337 & 348, SS 17.402, 25.310 & 365 (su-sita-dvīpa), AS 53.73, PS 1.17–24, 31.4–23, PMS 1.58 & 94, ĪS 1.29, 29.302–3, AnirS 1.15, BS 5.6; for the seven Citraśikhaṇḍins (MBh 12.322.26ff.), PMS 1.60–4, ĪS 1.31–5; for Rajō-paricara or Vasu Uparicara (MBh 12.322.17 through 324.38), AS 47.9, 49.4, PMS 1.70–1, Viṣṇudharma 72, VDhUP 3.348, Hazra, *Upapurāṇa* I, p. 130; for Ekata (MBh 12.323.6 & 9–45, 326.11 & 79), ŚPS 1.10ff., 1.28 (with Dvita and Trita).

12. Cf. Gonda, *Medieval Rel. Lit. in Skt.*, pp. 47–8 & nt. 59: *viz.*, J.E. Carpenter, *Theism in medieval India*, London 1921, p. 220; L. Renou and J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, I, Paris 1947, p. 647; P.V. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, V, Poona 1958, p. 961; B. Bhattacharyya, Intro. to the *JS* edition, p. 13; J.A.B. van Buitenen, *Yāmuna's Āgama Prāmāṇyam*, Madras 1971, p. 6.

13. Cf. MBh 12.326.44 & 116–7, 332.18, 336.61, 337.67.

14. Despite the fact that Nārāyaṇa is *bhāgavata-priya* in MBh 12.327.2, 331.43.

15. Also see MBh 12.326.100, 336.28, 337.1 & 59, PS 31.31.

The earliest group of the later Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās only rarely employs the term *bhāgavata* in the sense of a specific cult name. In the *Harṣacarita*,[16] Bāṇa mentions the Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātrikas as separate among a number of sectarians gathering around in the hermitage of Divākaramitra. From these instances, one may infer that the two cults were different at one time before Bāṇa, at least in North India.[17]

II

No one has, to date, offered a convincing interpretation of the original meaning of the word *pañcarātra*. In fact, several random attempts have been made to explain it out in the Saṃhitā literature itself, but none of them is plausible:[18] their usage of the word, as we shall see, is a frozen one already in the Nārāyaṇīya and the earliest Saṃhitās. The original, essential con-

16. P. 235.9 & 12. Bāṇa wrote it about A.D. 650, according to A.B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1920, p. 315.

17. The necessity to distinguish these two sects was first suggested by E.W. Hopkins in his *The Religions of India*, Boston, 1895, p. 447, note 3. Also cf. G.A. Grierson, "The Narayaniya and the Bhagavatas," *IA* 37, 1908, p. 258; J.N. Banerjea, *loc. cit.*, p. 40; Jaiswal, *loc. cit.*, p. 212; A. Gail, *Bhakti* (*infra*), p. 6.

18. PauS 38.307–9, PS 1.39–41, 31. 19, VS 2.49–52, PdS 1.1.72–6, ŚPS 2.40, ĪS 21.513–33, VMS 2.3–8, AnirS 1.33–9, ŚāṇḍilyaS 5.1.4.75–8, VihagendraS 1.31–4 (translated by Schrader, *Intro.*, p. 23, note 1), NāradaPR 1.1.44, Padmatantra 1.1.68–71 and Śaktisaṅgama-tantra (both quoted in Foreword of the *JS* edition, p. 10). Cf. MBh 12.336.76, JS 1.43, AS 39.7.

Various opinions of modern scholars: A. Govindacarya, "Pancaratras or Bhagavata-Sastra," *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 940–1; Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 24–6; S.K. De, *Aspects of Sanskrit Literature*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 54–6; V. Raghavan, "The name Pāñcarātra: with an analysis of the Sanatkumāra Saṃhitā in manuscript," *JAOS*, 85, 1965, pp. 73–7; J.A.B. van Buitenen, "The name 'Pañcarātra'," *History of Religions*, I-2, Chicago 1962, pp. 291–9; R.C. Hazra, Intro. to *The Vishṅu Puráṅa*, translated by H.H. Wilson, Calcutta, 1961, p. c; Gonda, *Medieval Rel. Lit. in Skt.*, pp. 43ff.; Varadachari, *Āgamas*, pp. 119ff.

notation had obviously been lost before the time of those texts.

However, we can determine at least a relatively early usage of the word. To begin with, it is worth noting that Śaṅkara uses both words *bhāgavata* and *pañcarātra* with a delicate distinction in his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*:

tatra bhāgavatā manyante / (on 2.2.42, p. 492, line 10)

varṇyanti ca bhāgavatāḥ . . . (on 2.2.43, p. 495, line 12)

and

pañcarātra-siddhāntibhir . . . abhyupagaṃyate /

(on 2.2.42, p. 496, line 12)[19]

An apparent peculiarity in the usage of the two words is that *bhāgavata* stands alone, but *pañcarātra* is in a compound. Thus, the impression is that the word *bhāgavata* by itself means an adorer of Bhagavat, but that *pañcarātra* alone cannot signify a group of devotees;[20] hence Śaṅkara is forced to put it in the compound to denote persons. What, then, does *pañcarātra* indicate? Let us first gather evidence from the relevant Sanskrit texts.

1. *pañcarātram . . . sad-āgamākhyaṃ* mūlam (PauS 38.308–9)
2. *tantram . . . pañcarātram* idaṃ proktam (PS 1.31–3; NS 25.337, 30.30)
3. *pāñcarātra-vidhāna*-jñas tantrāntara-vicakṣaṇaḥ // (AS 20.4)
4. *śāstraṃ* sarva-janair loke *pañcarātram* itīryate / (ĪS 21.533)
5. *śāstraṃ pañcarātra*-puraḥsaram (SS 12.144, ĪS 24.336)
6. *pañcarātram* idaṃ *śāstram* (AnirS 1.41; cf. VMS 2.1 & 11–12)
7. pañcarātrāt paraṃ *śāstraṃ* na bhūtaṃ na bhaviṣyati / (AnirS 2.3)

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19. Cf. Bhāskara on 2.2.40: *idānīṃ pañcarātra-siddhāntaḥ parīkṣyate / . . . iti bhāgavatā manyante /*

20. Cf. A. Gail, *Bhakti im Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, Münchener Indologische Studien 6, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 6.

8. *pañcarātrā*hvayaṃ *tantram* (AS 11.64, VS 2.52)
9. -ākhya *āgamaḥ* (PMS 19.522, ĪS 21.560)
10. -anuśabditaṃ *mahopaniṣadam* (MBh 12.326.100)
11. -mayī *saṃhitā* (AS 1.69, 59.70)
12. -abhilāṣa (PMS 19.521)
13. -anuśabdita (LT 4.28, vyūhāntara)
14. -artha (JS 33.80, kathita; JS 16.9, LT 21.31, -vit; SS 21.45, ĪS 22.45, vetti; VMS 2.6 & 8, 3.6, 18.113)
15. -jña (PauS 31.97, 38.75, NS 11.79, PdS 1.21)
16. -parāyaṇa (PS 29.78, NS 3.25, 13.368, 25.320, PMS 19.519 & 551)
17. -priya (AS 59.75)
18. -stha (LT 22.36, mantra)
19 -ukta (NS 25.343 & 397, PMS 19.521, garbha; ŚPS 1.6, AnirS 1.32, -mārga)
20. -upajīvyatva (SDS 5.2, p. 128)
21. -vicakṣaṇa (PS 19.48)
22. -vidhāna (NS 1.5 & 74; PMS 19.550, cf. AS 20.4, -jña)
23. -viśārada (PS 3.52, 6.21; NS 20.2, 24.15, 25.237; VS 5.88, AnirS 16.38)
24. -viśeṣeṇa (devaṃ satataṃ smaret) (PS 8.63)
25. -vit (MBh 12.322.24, 337.67; SS 19.19, 20.36, 25.134 & 357; PdS 1.17 & 40, 3.21; NS 17.87, 20.2, 25.224; ĪS 21.263 & 498; AnirS 2.16 & 19, 3.2; KP 2.21.32)
26. -āgama (Āg p. 30, line 11; Y p. 30, line 3)
27. -saṃhitā (Āg p. 14, line 2; p. 46, line 8)
28. -śāstra (Āg p. 29, lines 20ff.; p. 60, line 25; p. 61, line 18; ŚBh on 2.2.42, p. 700, lines 9ff.; p. 701, line 7; SDS

5.220, p. 157)

29. -śruti (Sp p. 2, line 16; Āg p. 60, lines 9ff.)

30. -tantra (Āg p. 1, line 11, *et passim*; ŚBh on 2.2.39, p. 695, line 2; p. 698, line 13; on 2.2.42, p. 703, line 13)

31. -upaniṣad (Sp p. 39, line 27)

From Nos. 1–11, it is evident that *pañcarātra* is the name of a sacred text, called *upaniṣad*, *tantra*, *saṃhitā*, *āgama*, or *śāstra*. This must be the basic meaning of the word, because it is found in the Nārāyaṇīya (No. 10), and also in the *Pauṣkara* (No. 1) and *Sātvata* (No. 5) Saṃhitās, three of the oldest extant texts. Hence the word is often found in this sense, when standing alone in a line without any qualifying words.[21]

The word should be interpreted in a similar sense in Nos. 12 through 25. Here, *pañcarātra* is said to possess a content which can be known and communicated (No. 14, cf. VMS 1.77–79); in it ritual rules are prescribed (Nos. 22 & 24), *mantras*, Sub-Vyūhas and other topics are explained (Nos. 13, 18 & 19; also see NS 1.17, 29.39, 25.397). Furthermore, it is indicated that one should be intent on and delight in the *pañcarātra* (Nos. 12, 16 & 17) and that one, often an *ācārya*, should study and become well versed in it (Nos. 15, 21, 23 & 25). The word, then, naturally comes to mean the system or ritualism revealed in the sacred scripture as is inferred from No. 20. This usage, also frequently evidenced,[22] is confirmed by MBh

21. PauS 38.303 (siddhānta), PS 1.33, 31.19; SkS Brahma 10.53–4, Indra 3.80; VS 2.22 & 24, 3.46, 11.58, AnirS 2.6–9, VarāhaP 66.19, KP 1.12.258, Sp pp. 8.6, 22.14, 29.23, 35.24, 41.10, 54.11, Āg p. 6.4 *et passim*, ŚBh on 2.2.42 (p. 705.14), SDS 4.258 (p. 117).

22. *pāñcarātrākhyaṃ jñānam* (NS 1.17 & 76), *-āhvayaṃ jñānam* (VMS 1.79). Cf. AS 15.23, LT 1.43, MBh 12.337.1, 59 & 63, Tantravārttika on 1.3.4 (p. 114.23), VDhUP 1.74.34, 2.22.133, 3.73.48, KP 1.16.117, 2.16.15, 2.21.32, AP 219.61 (*pañcarātrakam*).

12.336.76, which runs:

pañcarātram . . . ekāntināṃ dharmaḥ,

and the *Aniruddha Saṃhitā* 1.32 says:

pañcarātrād ṛte mukti-mārgo na vidyate.

Probably in the same sense the word *pāñcarātra* is used in the following lines:

pāñcarātra-pravartakāḥ (ĪS 8.176, to be compared with PMS 1.60=ĪS 1.30, ekānti-dharmasya . . . pravartakāḥ)

pāñcarātre 'pi tenāiva prāmāṇyam upavarṇitam / (quoted in NM 4, p. 265, line 1)

pāñcarātraṃ bhakti-mārgaḥ (N on MBh 12.348.81)

pāñcarātra-matasyāvaidikasya śrute sāṃkhya-yoga-mate 'nupasaṃhāryatvāt . . . (N on MBh 12.351.22)[23]

The above quotations and the compounds given before in Nos. 26–31 are all from later texts. In these places, the word *pañcarātra* or *pāñcarātra* may imply a sect-name besides its older sense; compare the similar case with the word *vedānta*, which, originally meaning the Upaniṣads, comes to designate a specific philosophical school in India.

Now the earlier meaning of the word *pañcarātra* is clear. It is exclusively restricted to the sacred text, or to the system and doctrine revealed in it. The single word *pañcarātra* can scarcely designate a sectarian. To express this sense, the word must be put into a compound with words like *-vit*, *-priya*, *-viśārada*, *-vicakṣaṇa*, *-parāyaṇa* and so forth. Otherwise, the derivative forms like *pāñcarātrika*[24] used by Bāṇa and *pañcarātrin* (NS 2.121,

23. The *ŚPS* almost always uses *pāñcarātra*: e.g., *pāñcarātraṃ śrīpraśnam iti saṃjñitam* (1.44), *-ukta-vidhi* (4.17), *-tattva-jña* (4.18). Cf. AS 20.4, PS 31.58 (adj.), SDS 5.269–70 (p. 157, *pāñcarātrakaṃ śāstram*).

24. SS 6.196, 14.30, 25.145, PauS 38.28, JS 16.342, 20.265 & 270, SkS Indra 3.82, LT 24.67, ĪS 11.233, 22.11. Also in KP 1.29.25, Āg pp. 51.6, 56.14, 76.16.

VS 2.52) must be used. Śaṅkara was then well aware of the usage, and that is why he had to make the compound *pañcarātra-siddhāntin.* Only in later usage might *pāñcarātra* have become a sectarian name like Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāśupata, etc., as was probably coined from the usage evidenced in Nos. 26–31. So seems to have said the commentary *Saṅketa* on *Harṣacarita* which glosses *pāñcarātrika* by *vaiṣṇava-bheda.*[16]

The result of the foregoing investigation certainly indicate that, by the time of Advaitin Śaṅkara, the Bhāgavatas possessed the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās as their canonical texts. According to the *Nāradīya Saṃhitā,* those Brahmins who know Pāñcarātra well are said to be the best of Bhāgavatas:

yad brūyuḥ *pāñcarātra-jñāḥ* viprāḥ *bhāgavatottamāḥ* /

(NS 11.79; cf. 29.20)

and the Bhāgavatas are supporsed to worship the god Hari installed in a temple in compliance with the instructions given by Pañcarātra:

pūjyo *bhāgavatair* eva prāsāda-sthāpito Hariḥ /

pañcarātrokta-mārgeṇa . . . // (NS 25.343)

The same idea is also explicit in the *Sanatkumāra Saṃhitā* (Indra 3.80–1) as well as in the *Pādma Saṃhitā* (3.2.62), and was still known to Bhaṭṭotpala who in his commentary on *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* 59.19 glossed *viṣṇor bhāgavatān . . . sva-vidhinā* by *pañcarātra-vidhinā viṣṇoḥ.*[25] Here the word *bhāgavata* probably denotes ardent worshippers of Bhagavat Viṣṇu in general, rather than members of a specific sect. In the *Saṅketa* (*ibid.*) the word is taken

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It is one of the epithets of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa in MBh 12.325.4 (No. 59) and PMS 10.129.

25. Ed. by Kern: 60.19. Cf. Utpala on 104.8, *vaiṣṇavyena pañcarātra-vihitena pūjā-krameṇa . . .*

as *viṣṇu-bhakta* which is frequently used in the *Parama Saṃhitā*,[26] and by Bhaṭṭotpala on *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* 15.20 as *bhagavad-bhakta*.[27] In a similar way, the *Parama Saṃhitā* presupposes the identity of the Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātrikas. These two names are specifically mentioned as synonymous in *Sanatkumāra Saṃhitā* (Indra 3.81–2) and in the *Pādma Saṃhitā* 4.2.88.[28] Further in Cambodia, before the latter half of the ninth century A.D., they were apparently used to refer to the same cult.[29]

III

The following text is here referred for translation:

Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā of the Pāñcarātrāgama, 2 vols., 2nd edition revised by Pandit V. Krishnamacharya, The Adyar Library Series Vol. IV, Madras 1966.

An elaborate and excellent introduction to this Saṃhitā is available, written by F. Otto Schrader as early as 1916, which is still considered to be a valuable work of its kind though a few minor corrections are now necessary.

F. Otto Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, Madras 1916.

The work consists of the general survey of the literatures and philosophy of

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26. E.g., PS 7.22, 12.21 & 40, 17.3 & 41, 21.45, 26.80, 29.78. Cf. SS 21.43, JS 16.5, 21.105, NS 9.318, 11.11 & 51, VS 15.78; SS 17.458, mad-bhakta.

27. This term is already found in the earliest Saṃhitās (SS 18.3, 22.2, cf. 20.38; PauS 27.176, 30.195, 31.49; JS 16.52, 20.350, 23.1 & 111). For its description, see VS 2.38; cf. R.C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, I, Calcutta 1958, p. 122, p. 137, note 75–6 (Viṣṇudharma 79–80), and Āg p. 26.16–7.

28. Quoted in Foreword of the *JS* edition, p. 8, notes 4–5. Also cf. VMS 9.90 and BṛhatS 59.19.

29. K. Bhattacarya, "The Pāñcarātra Sect in Ancient Cambodia," *JGIS*, 14, 1955, p. 112; -do, *Les Religions brahmaniques dans l'ancien Cambodge*, Paris 1961, pp. 29 & 97–8.

the Pāñcarātra, as well as a brief review upon the origin, etc. and summary of all the chapters of the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā in particular. S. N. Dasgupta also wrote on "Philosophy of the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā" in a chapter in his *A History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. III, Cambridge 1961, pp. 34–62.

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A later research on the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās has been made by J. Gonda: *Medieval Religious Literature in Sanskrit*, Wiesbaden 1977, pp. 39–139, where various necessary materials could be found.

Details of the Saṃhitā contents may be gathered from:

H. D. Smith, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Printed Texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama*, 2 vols., Gaekwad's Oriental Series 158 & 168, Baroda 1975 & 1980.

For the Āgamas in Vaiṣṇava literature, see:

V. Varadachari, *Agamas and South Indian Vaisnavism*, Madras 1982.

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Philological study concerning the development of the early history of Vaiṣṇavism remarkably advanced with the following works:

R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, III-6, Strassburg 1913.

R. Chand, *The Indo-Aryan Races*, Rajshahi, 1916.

-do., *Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 5, Calcutta 1920.

R. Garbe, *Die Bhagavadgītā*, Leipzig 1921, Einleitung.

A few of select other references:

H. Raychaudhuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, 2nd revised ed., Calcutta 1936.

J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht 1954.

-do., *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism—A Comparison*, London 1970.

D.C. Sircar, "Early History of Vaiṣṇavism," *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, Calcutta 1956, pp. 108–145.

J. N. Banerjea, *Purāṇic and Tantric Religion*, Calcutta 1966, pp. 18–62.

S. Jaiswal, *The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism*, Delhi 1967.

R.N. Dandekar, "The Beginnings of Vaiṣṇavism" & "Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism," *Insights into Hinduism*, Select Writings 2, Delhi 1979, pp. 204–319.

The past studies in this field are collected and surveyed briefly in:

A. M. Shastri, "Vaisnavism," *Chitraoshastri (M.M.) Felicitation Volume, Review of Indological Research in Last 75 Years*, ed. by P. J. Chinmulgund and V.V. Mirashi, Poona, no date, pp. 597–623.

TRANSLATION

CHAPTER I Prelude: Advent of the Scripture

One should meditate on the white-robed[1] Viṣṇu, moon-colored,[2] four-armed,[3] of peaceful countenance,[4] in order to put an end to all obstacles.

Homage to the Wheel,[5] who is the bearer of the wheel [Viṣṇu],[6] the principle of Para, Vyūha, and so forth,[7] whose form consists of the three phonemes,[8] Avyakta,[9] its transformation, the sense organs,[10] and so forth. (1) We bow to the Śakti[11] of Hari, the Pañcabindu,[12] who is the performer of His five activities,[13] resembling the moon, the sun, and fire,[14] beyond imagination, and moon-crested.[15] (2)

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Bharadvāja once asked the sinless Durvāsas,[16] who was worshipping the highest place [of Viṣṇu][17] after bathing in the heavenly Ganges. (3)

Bharadvāja:

Bliss of the heart of Anasūyā, Reverend sir, Ocean of austerities, I have a doubt, which you may please solve for me. (4)

[It is found that all weapons and incantations are subordinate to the Sudarśana.[18]] The ocean of weapon-incantations (*astra*) that are used in the Agnīṣoma rites and that are specified in the Atharvaveda,[19] both offensive and defensive (5);[20] the collection of incantation-weapons of the guardian gods of the world, each of which has its own ability; the vast

potencies of those that operate in fire, the sun, and the moon[14] (6); the many manifest weapons (*śastra*) which depend on the incantation-weapons[21] and are produced by Brahmā, Rudra and other gods, and which are capable of the protection, destruction, and creation of the three worlds[22] (7); the great collection of charms (*mantra*) that have been seen by all the great sages;[23] the many weapon-incantations of Viṣṇu,[24] beginning with the club, the bow, the conch, and the sword (8), and those of Lakṣmī, beginning with the petal, the *gaṇḍa* (?),[25] and the lotus; and also the many other things which are praised in the same way because of their miraculous power (9) — each one of these has been ascertained to be dependent upon the Sudarśana.

How is its greatness created ? Is it created of its own nature or through contact with something else ? (10) What is that which is called Sudarśana ? What is the meaning of the word ? What kind of work does it perform ? How does it pervade the world ? (11) How many Vyūhas[26] arise from it ? Of what sorts are they, and what are they, O sage ? What is their purpose ? What is the wife (*vyūhī*) of each Vyūha ? (12) What is its (i.e., Sudarśana's) relation to Viṣṇu, and how is it regarded ? Is it constantly and invariably related to Him [alone], or is it seen as related to another as well ? (13) This is the doubt that has come to me from the perusal of many scriptures. Please dispel it, Sir. I have approached you in the proper way.[27] Please teach me, Sir. (14)

Durvāsas:

It is appropriate, my dear, that you should reflect in such a way; [for] each one of your austerities, O virtuous one, is now shining. (15) When passions of their inner organs are brought to cessation through austerities, men have a desire to reflect upon the highest principle. (16) Thus you are not the only one to ask about the above-mentioned matters. The wise,

beginning with Brahmā, have made an effort for it, being in doubt. (17) I once obtained an answer to that question from Śaṅkara (Śiva), beneficent to the world, who was explaining it in person to Nārada. (18)

Having obtained the crowning glory [of knowledge] through austerities,[28] Nārada, esteemed by gods, used to solve all doubts of Brahmā, the gods, and the great sages. (19) However, Nārada himself had once come upon a deep uncertainty difficult to be known by the gods. Nārada,[29] a distinguished sage — who had no passion, sickness, or impurity; an ascetic who had controlled his sense-organs; who knew the true rules concerning words, sentences and the means of cognition; a Brahmacārin of self-restraint; who knew the distinction between high and low; attentive, without egotism, eagerly devoted to knowledge in its true sense — could find no one else, although he traveled throughout the three worlds, to dispel the doubt hardly known to the divine sages, except the moon-crested god [Śiva] who knows everything. (20–3)

In order to meet [the god] Śaṅkara, he went to Mt. Kailāsa,[30] the abode of Śaṅkara, which puts to shame, as it were, all other mountains by its own lustre and which may be compared to the awakening of Sattva[31] that produces excellent knowledge — [a mountain] full of the Siddhas and Vidyādharas, and frequented by the gods and Gandharvas. (24–5) There he found the god sitting together with Umā and being served by the Rudras, the Vasus, the Ādityas, the Siddhas, the Sādhyas, troops of the Maruts, sages, yogins, and various other divine Bhūtas. He is the lord with three eyes, the boon-giver, the trident-holder, moon-crested, the lord of cattle, who always removes the bondage of worldly existence, supporting the three worlds with his eight forms.[32] (26–8) Having seen the lord god, the divine Nārada bowed down, and then praised him ardently with the best words. (29)

Nārada:

Homage to you, Lord of the gods. Homage to you, O bull-bannered one. Homage to you, O most compassionate one,[33] the bull,[34] whose vehicle is the best of bulls (Naṇḍin), you who dispence desired objects, strongest, highest. Homage to you, the omniscient and independent one, who are always satisfied. (30–1) Homage to you, who have the form of beginningless wisdom and are ever with your Śakti.[11] Homage to you, who possess the six limbs (divine attributes),[35] the creator and destroyer of the worlds. (32) Homage to you, O Daśāvyaya.[36] Homage to you, who wear the elephant skin, not terrible and yet terrible,[37] much more terrible. (33) Homage to you, the god Sadyojāta or Vāmadeva.[37] Homage to the eldest Rudra.[38] Origin of worldly existence,[39] homage to you. Homage to you, O Balavikāra,[38] slayer of [the demon] Bala.[40] Homage . . . Homage to you. (34–5)[41] Homage to Kalavikāra,[38] Kāla (time)[42] whose nature it is to urge [everything] on. Homage to you, O Manonmana,[38] controller of all creatures.[38] (36) Homage to Śarva,[32] the peaceful one. Homage to Śambhu, who grants happiness. Lord of knowledge,[43] homage to you. Lord of living beings, homage to you. (37) O great god,[32] homage to you. Homage to you, Tatpuruṣa.[37] Knowledge embodied, homage to you. Homage, Ocean of indifference to the worldly passions. (38) Homage to you, full of the lordly qualities, ocean of austerities. Eternally truthful one, homage to you. Essence of endurance, homage to you. (39) Essence of firmness, homage to you. Homage to you, creator of the worlds, full of self-cognition, presiding over the three worlds. (40) Homage, homage to you, Daśāvyaya,[36] who are always changeless. Homage to you, who assume the eight forms[32] of earth, water, fire, air, space, the moon, the sun, and the Ātman. (41) Homage to the helper of all, who presides over the three worlds.

Durvāsas:

To the eminent divine sage who was thus praising him with the best words (42), the bull-bannered god spoke the following words sweet with grace.

Ahirbudhnya:[44]

With this praise and your devotion I am satisfied, O best of sages. (43) Tell me what I should do now, let it even be very difficult to accomplish.

Nārada:

What else needs be said, if only the lord of the world is pleased [with me] ? (44) For that is all that the wise hope and strive for.[45]

Ahirbudhnya:

I am pleased, and may your visiting me today bear fruit for you. (45) Speak out truly, Nārada, whatever is in your heart.

Nārada:

A battle like that of the demon Tāraka[46] broke out between Kālanemin[47] and the holder of the Śārṅga [Viṣṇu], who is God of the gods and the creator of the worlds, causing fear to the gods, demons, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, and Rakṣases. (46–7) There flew about a number of Śastras and Astras[19] which looked like the lustre of a thousand suns at midday, and among the armies of the chief gods and demons cut asunder by great weapons, there swarmed groups of Piśācas, Pretas, Vetālas and Bhūtas: some frightened, some astonished, some gathering together, some pleased, some moving together, and some floating. (48–9) When terrible thunderbolts and lightning shot upwards, streams of blood ran down in torrents everywhere dripping from

the bodies of gods and demons; and the gods and demons, left uninjured but frightened, ran away in all directions. (50–1) Then, to the Lord of the world, who was mounted in His vehicle Garuḍa[48] with the Sudarśana discus in His lotus-like hand, Kālanemi[n] displayed his entire collection of Astras (52): those that were the children of Bhṛśāśva, those that issued from your mouth, those that came out of Brahmā's mouth, those produced from Saṃvartakāla (53), those issuing from the guardian gods of the world, those of the dwellers in Pātāla, those made out of the [five] gross elements, those produced from Vaikārika [Ahaṅkāra] (54), those made out of the three qualities, those produced by Gandharvas, those produced by Rakṣases and Yakṣas, those named Vidyādharas (55), those that came out of pairs of qualities, those that came out of Śakti,[11] those belonging to the Atharvāṅgiras, those that came out of the other [Vedic] *mantras* (56), those performing all activities, both offensive and defensive, spears and lances, in the form of staffs and so forth. (57) They were very strong, very powerful, and were ready to destroy the three worlds. Some of them resembled the lord of mountains (Himālaya), some the lord of elephants (Airāvata), some the ocean, some the sky, and licking upwards with hundreds of blazing flames, they flew in the midst of heaven and earth. (58–9) Dancing, laughing, playing, falling, not describable nor comparable, yellow, white, red, black — they had various forms and colors, various kinds of grace and brightness. All gathered together and were ready to fight, urged on by Kālanemin. (60–1)

However, this entire collection of Astras both offensive and defensive, containing secret ones as well, was all together like a moth in the great fire of Sudarśana raised in the hand of Nārāyaṇa, and the great demon Kālanemi[n] became a full oblation to that fire.[49] (62–3)

Having seen this battle, I was astonished. It was a great wonder. I

bowed down to Kṛṣṇa, Lord of the world, who had disappeared in that moment. (64) And I carried about the heavy weight of doubt in my heart. Now I have come here to you in order to dispel that doubt (65), for there will be no one to dispel it except the omniscient Īśāna.[37]

Ahirbudhnya:

Divine sage, speak out the doubts which are in your mind. (66) Even if they are hard to explain [for you], I will now dispel them all.

Durvāsas:

Then the Glorious Śarva,[32] his heart being pleased, fully explained the questions asked by the divine sage Nārada in due order.

This has been called a sacred scripture, Saṃhitā, of Pañcarātra, the name Saṃhitā being preceded by Ahirbudhnya.[50] It contains the meaning of various *mantras*, and an account of the chief activities of the Para [form of Viṣṇu],[6] and of the happenings of former ages.[51] (67–9) It is a union of various systems of doctrines,[52] and is embellished with various knowledge.

Here [in this world], two hundred and forty chapters [of the text] were [first] displayed. (70) Then in the period of Dvāpara, being refined by Guhya by eliminating lengthy details for the good of mankind, it came to have one hundred and twenty chapters. (71) Then, again, after the evening portion of Dvāpara passed away, because of the diminuition of men's understanding and for their benefit, I made another condensation[53] of the scripture into sixty chapters, with the permission of Vyāsa.[54] (72–3)

In the same way that the revered sage Nārada proposed the questions and Śarva[32] answered them, learn everything from me. (74)

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. This could be possible only in meditation, for Viṣṇu is traditionally *pītāmbara-dhara*. See, e.g., AS 48.20, LT 38.54, PS 4.38ff., NS 13.178, H 3.80.84, BṛhatS 24.18, DK p. 95.10, etc.

2. I.e., white. Cf. JS 13.158–62, AS 24.8 & 10, PS 13.52, NS 1.34, ŚPS 9.68, VP 3.3.26, MBh 12.335.57 & 60, 336.61. In the Kṛta Yuga, Viṣṇu appears as white (B 1.1, H 2.71.31, BhP 10.3.20, 10.8.13, 11.5.21). As for the poetic convention that the autumnal moon is white, see DK p. 2.4, Vikram 29.3 (p. 206).

3. It is the form of Viṣṇu in His highest heaven (LT 17.28) and is called the *para* form to be worshipped for *mokṣa* or *nirvāṇa* (PS 3.16, VS 4.54–5). This form is assumed by God for the sake of *bhakta* yogins (PS 3.9, VS 4.50; cf. VP 5.3.10–3). Also see Schrader, *Intro.*, p. 52, note 3. Usually, His four weapons, *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā*, and *padma*, are distributed to the four hands. See PauS 36.139ff., Table B in M. Th. Mallmann, *Les enseignements iconographiques de l'Agni-purana*, Annales du Musée Guimet 67, Paris 1963, p. 23. It is also the form of *siddhas* in Śvetadvīpa (PS 1.22). Cf. PS 4.38, AS 5.49, VS 15.14. H 2.121.116 & 136, BhG 11.46, Sāhityadarpaṇa 10.30 (ed. by Kane, p. 25).

4. Cf. AS 48.20. One of the traces of Viṣṇu's kindly nature. *prasanna-vadanēkṣaṇa*, PMS 25.53; *prasannēkṣaṇa*, K 9.4 (=54). 38. For a *dhyāna* on the *sadā prahasitānana* Viṣṇu, see VS 8.33.

5. A wheel is to be compared with *ātman* in which all the universe is placed (BAUp 2.5.15). For this verse, cf. the creation theory given in AS chapters 5–7 and AS 35.84.

6. Cf. *cakra-rūpa-dharo hariḥ* (AS 33.22, cf. 32.51, 36.63, 47.56); Nārāyaṇa is the *cakra-rūpa* (AS 52.56). It is said to be the dearest form to Viṣṇu, who assumes the form when He wishes to protect devotees and to check their enemies (AS 33.22–3). The Cakra, one of His four main weapons (KumS 2.49), is said either to be made by Tvaṣṭṛ out of the sun's *tejas* (H 1.9.62–3, 3.2.11; cf. 1.44.38, 1.48.13, 3.39.20, VP 5.33.35) or to be given to Him by Śiva (H 3.84.11; cf. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, Madras, 1916, pp. 209–12). For its description, see H 1.48.40–5. For its function to destroy demons, cf. H 1.48.35, 2.48.25, *et passim*, VP 1.19.19–20, 5.29.17 & 21, 34.37, AS 23.43–4. The use of a wheel as a weapon went out of fashion long before the age of the Buddha (Kosambi, *JESHO*, 4, p. 213).

7. Viṣṇu is supposed to take five forms (AS 11.63; cf. 1.1), Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin, and Arcā, through compassion for His devotees or in order to favor individual selves (LT 11.41 & 50–1). Also see JS 20.283–6, SS 1.25–7, LT 11.4, PMS 8.177, 25.57, ŚPS 2.54–7, ĪS 20.263–4, ViṣvaksenaS (quoted in the comm. on TT, p. 122). For the later philosophical discussion in Śrī-vaiṣnava, see SDS 4.231ff. (p. 115) & 4.297–8 (pp. 119–20), TT pp. 85–142, Y pp. 83–9.

8. *Om* is *try-akṣara* (MaitriUp 6.4). It consists of three morae (a-u-m). See PraśnaUp 5, MaitriUp 6.3, Manu 2.76, JS 2.23, PS 3.88, 6.7. The fourth phoneme is moraless (MāUp 12, MaitriUp 6.23). *Om* is Viṣṇu: *ya om ity ucyate śabdo . . . sa evāsi prabho viṣṇo* (H 3.111.43). Viṣṇu is *praṇava-pratipādya-vastu* (AS 49.58; cf. 24.7). Also cf. JS 2.23, VS 18.26, BhG 9.17, H 3.41.42–3, 115.23, 131.8, VP 1.9.70, 2.8.50. *Om* is Param Brahma (BhG 8.13, 17.23, H 3.19.85, VP 2.8.47, 3.3.21, MaitriUp 6.4 & 22, MNUp 327). It is considered as a symbol of Brahman (ChUp 1.1.1, TUp 1.8, PraśnaUp 5.5); as an arrow to hit the mark of Brahman (MaitriUp 6.24, MuUp 2.2.3–4); as the greatness of Brahman (MaitriUp 4.4, 7.11). *Om* is Ātman (ŚvetUp 4.18), Śiva (H 2.72.50, AS 51.41), or a basis of meditation (ChUp 8.6.5, KaUp 2.17, ŚvetUp 1.13–4, Brahmabindu-Up 7, AS 2.27). Further, cf. Brahma-s 1.3.13, Yoga-s 1.27–8, VāmanaP 43.31, LT 36.94, 37.75, 38.3.

Viṣṇu's highest heaven (*paramaṃ padam*, see Note 17 below) should be meditated on in the *praṇava* by yogins (VP 1.9.54, cf. KaUp 2.15). Viṣṇu is to be invoked in the *praṇava* (PS 4.40–1, BhG 17.24), and Lakṣmī appears in the hearts of those who repeat *om* (AS 51.38, cf. PS 6.6).

Om is the highest *bīja* of all the *mantras* (PS 6.5–7, cf. JS 6.232).

9. See AS 2.29, 4.70–2; cf. AS 54.41 (*bhagavad-rūpa*) and BhG 9.4 (*avyakta-mūrti*). For Param Brahma as the *upādāna*, see AS 2.30 & 34, Brahma-s 1.4.23, H 3.18.27, VP 1.11.54, 1.2.23 (*pradhānikaṃ brahma*); cf. Rāmānuja on BhG 13.2, VAS 16, 33 (p. 90.12 through p. 91.10), 70, 73, SDS 4.231ff., TT p. 109; Buitenen, *Rāmānuja on the Bhagavadgītā*, Delhi 1968, p. 35; and compare MuUP 1.1.9. Also cf. Brahman as *avyaktaṃ kāraṇam* (H 3.16.3).

10. For *akṣa* as *indriya*, see AS 6.18; cf. JS 3.5, 18.2.

11. Every and each thing in this world possesses an individual potency of its own, *śakti* (AS 3.2–3, 6.3), which may be defined as: *śaktiḥ kāraṇa-gatā kāryasyāvyaktatvam* (TK on SK 15–6, p. 196) or *sarva-kāraṇānāṃ kāraṇatva-nirvāhakaḥ kaś cid adravya-viśeṣaḥ śaktiḥ* (Y p. 97.1–6). Also in AS 16.4–7,

sva-kārya-sāmarthyam; cf. PauS 22.10. In the case of higher principles, the Śakti is to be personified as a goddess or a wife of its possessor. Cf. AS 3.41–4, 5.4–5 & 29. For Brahman's Śakti, see AS chapter 3. Cf. Gonda, *VŚ*, p. 55.

12. This is a name given to the vowel ī which represents the *bīja* of Devī. See JS 6.37, AS 17.5, 18.3, LT 32.36 & 48.

13. That is, *sṛṣṭi*, *sthiti*, *saṃhāra*, *nigraha*, and *anugraha*. See AS 11.45, 14.14–5, 44.55–6, 51.47 & 58, NS 15.127, MBh 12.335.83. Cf. AS 16.4, *devī sarva-kṛtya-karī vibhoḥ*, and also AS 2.5, 24.7, LT 11.3, 17.4 & 36, 21.12–3, VS 15.16–7. According to the Śaivāgamas, Parā Śakti is said to perform these five activities (Rao, *Elements*, I, p. 398).

14. In the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, this triad — the sun, the moon, and fire — seems to be a typical representation of those entities which possess miraculous *tejas* within themselves. See AS 54.29, *tejas-trayam*, and cf. LT 29.12 with 31.1. Further, cf. PauS 20.77, 33.160, 36.361–2, 38.180 & 193, SS 6.146, 17.56, JS 6.247, 14.36, 16.322, AS 1.6, 3.48, 4.48, 21.5–6 & 17, LT 10.20, 29.38 & 41, 30.19, 62 & 64, 33.46, 37.70, 52.11, NS 13.262, VS 9.99, BhG 15.12–4, BrahmavidyāUp 8–9. The triad is said to be *ātmāṅga* (AS 44.47) and Bhagavat is called *tejasāṃ nidhiḥ* (SS 6.212). Viṣṇu's *rūpa* is *sūryēndu-vahni-saṅkāśam* (PauS 30.126, cf. 27.275), and Brahman is *vahny-arkendu-śata-prabham* (JS 4.2). Lakṣmī-pati (=Nārāyaṇa) is *pūrṇendu-bhāskara-hutāśa-sahasra-rūpa* (SS 25.119). Also cf. H 1.54.7–8.

15. This is an unusual expression and could be a Śaiva influence. Cf. AS 1.23 & 27, 14.4, and also 3.13 (Gaurī).

16. Cf. H 3.107.11ff. Durvāsas is a reputed incarnation of a portion of Śiva, and is the son of Atri and Anasūyā (see MārkP 17.11). For his blessing of Kṛṣṇa, see MBh 13.144.35, H 3.111.10. For Bharadvāja as a ṛṣi of the North (*uttarā* or *udīcī diś*), see MBh 12.201.31–2, 13.151.36–7. This may support Schrader's view of the Kashmir origin of the *AhirbudhnyaS* (see his *Intro.*, pp. 96–7). For the sage's name, see VP 4.19.6–8.

17. Cf. H 3.107.17–8. The highest place is sometimes equated with Viṣṇu (MBh 6.62.7, VP 5.1.45), and often with Brahman (MBh 6.62.6, H 3.17.64, VP 1.7.45, 1.14.38 & 42, 1.22.53, 2.7.41, 6.5.68, AS 51.43) or with Brahman's *rūpa* (MaitriUp 6.26). Also cf. *Viṣṇu-loka*, SS 25.371, VAS 128–9 & 131. For the description of Viṣṇu's highest heaven, see AS 6.21–31 and my Note on the passage. How to meditate upon the heaven is mentioned in VS 30.52–3 and LT 43.27–8. Cf. SDS 4.359 (p. 125): *dhyāna-rūpayā bhaktyā puruṣottama-padaṃ labhyate*.

18. See AS 1.62–3. Sudarśana is the name of Viṣṇu's discus (PauS 8.41–2, AS 2.1); it may also be considered as the incantation which raises the discus (cf. AS 24.2 & 8, 34.14–6, and see chapters 16-9). According to AS chapters 11–2, the Sudarśana possesses in itself the controlling power (*paramāṇa*) of various systems of religion and philosophy. Hence this term is applied to the original Scripture which comprised everything worth knowing (AS 11.16–48, and cf. *sudarśanaṃ śāsanam* in 11.52), and from which the pāñcarātra system was extracted (AS 11.62–4) as the pure essence. One may thus infer that all other scriptures are to be regarded as subordinate to the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*. Similarly in the passage which follows in our text, all other weapons and incantations, that is to say, the powers of all other gods, are subordinated to the Sudarśana.

19. See AS 1.56. For the Agniṣṭoma as a Rig-Vedic sacrifice, see VP 1.5.52; cf. AS 16.21, MaitriUp 6.10 (p. 450). Also cf. PauS 27.205–6.

20. Lists of the two kinds of Astras are given in AS chapters 34–5, and 36.13–15. Also cf. AS 31.14, 36.1, 42.13 & 27-33, Rāmāyaṇa 1.27.

21. As is known from the explanation in AS chapters 34–5 and 56–7, *astras* are chiefly made out of *mantras* or magical formulae and do not appear in their specific forms. In contrast with *āyuddha* which is used after proper physical training and possesses a limited destructive power, *astra* is discharged only if it is availed through *tapas* or *dhyāna* &c., at times for unlimited destruction like a missile. See AS 40.4–7; cf. AS 1.62 and 2.13 (*astra-grāma*) with AS 2.1 (*mantra-grāma*); PauS 20.110, 27.45 & 53 (*astra-parijapta*), AS 34.1 & 2, 36.1. *Mantra* is a cause of *astra-śakti* (AS 51.4). *Astra* is sometimes regarded as the *tejas* manifested from severe *tapas* (URC 1.15, Mahāvīracarita 1.42). Jṛmbhaka Astra from *dhyāna* (URC, NSP ed., p. 135; cf. *ibid.* 7.11) and Āgneya Astra (*ibid.*, pp. 146–7). However, *astras* are sometimes said to have visible bodies more or less humanlike (*gātra* or *vapus*, AS 35.93–9). For *astra-vyūha*, see AS 10.47–51. For *śastras*, see AS 10.40–6, 50.104–5.

22. Cf. AS 60.15–6. In this line there must be implied the notion of *trimūrti*, for which see JS 2.16–7, AS 33.16–7, 51.40, PS 2.93–5, VS 3.4, 71.2 & 77; MaitriUp 4.5, 6.5, H 2.125.31, 3.88.31, 107.13–6, 131.8, VP 1.2.59–64, 4.15, 13.21, 19.66, 22.21–32, 37–9 & 57, 2.11.12–3, 4.1.28–9 & 32, 5.30.10, GP 1.4.11, KumS 2.4, 7.44, Raghuv 10.16, VAS 112, ST 1.42. Also cf. E.W. Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, New York 1901, pp. 183–4; J.N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd revised ed., Calcutta 1956, p. 125.

23. Cf. AS 51.79–80.

24. Cf. e.g., H 3.32.36–8, 29.5–7, 72.84–5.

25. Or rather *ghaṇṭā*, cf. PauS 34.56–7, and JS 13.215–20, where the bells are essentially connected with Bhagavat-Śakti or Lakṣmī.

26. See Note 6 above and AS 10.13–4. Otherwise, *śastrāstra-vyūha* (AS 10.46, 11.12–4) or *divyāḥ sudarśanā vyūhāḥ* (AS 59.63, cf. 60.14–5). Also cf. AS 12.52 & 55, 44.25–30.

27. Cf. JS 1.30–6, AS 2.20. See P. Deussen, *The Philosophy of Ups*, New York 1966, pp. 70ff.; Keith, *HOS*, 31, pp. 369ff.

28. For obtaining *jñāna* through *tapas*, see ŚvetUp 1.15–6, 6.21, MaitriUp 4.3–4, PraśnaUp 1.10, KenaUp 4.8, H 3.108,15. DK p. 13.7, SDS 3.173–4, AS 2.3–4. But *ātman* cannot be known through *tapas* (ŚatBr 10.5.4.15, BAUp 3.8.10, 4.4.22, 6.2.15, ChUp 4.10, 5.10.1, MuUp 3.1.8, MaitriUp 1.2, MBh 12.323.53, H 3.18.29).

29. Cf. H 1.54.6–12, 2.28.43–5, BhP 1.5.23–31. He is a son of Brahmā (*brahma-suta*, PauS 39.36, H 2.65.18; *-putra*, NS 1.7, *parameṣṭhi-ja*, MBh 12.331. 13 & 16, H 1.3.9–10), born from the god's forehead (H 3.20.17), and is said to be the best of the *devarṣis* (BhG 10.26, cf. H 3.25.2). As a man of learning (ChUp 7.1.1, H 2.57.48, 81.13) he knows almost everything that happens in this world (*sarva-loka-jña*, H 3.92.1; *sarva-bhūta-mati-jña*, H 2.64.33, cf. 2.57.17, 119.2; for his prophecy, see e.g., MBh 2.71.29ff., K 3.1.130, KumS 1.50)—including some which are comical (H 2.89.25–7) and some that make trouble when they are revealed. And yet he has a strong curiosity to inquire after what he has not yet learned (H 2.110, 128.25). Probably because he has obtained *ātma-vidyā* from Sanatkumāra (ChUp 7.1–26) and the Pāñcarātra doctrine from Nārāyaṇa in Śvetadvīpa (MBh 12.321ff., PMS 1.58), he is regarded as a promulgator of the system (MBh 12.326.100ff., 336.79, JS 1.49, PMS 1.55, ĪS 1.53 & 70, BhP 1.3.8; Āg p. 6.3–4, p. 14.2–3, p. 46.6ff.; cf. BhG 10.13), being identified with a portion of Nārāyaṇa (H 1.54.6, JS 1.44, BhP *ibid*). On the other hand, as is in AS 1.46ff., Nārada loves to watch a battle (MBh 2.53.6, H 2.24.61, 110.42 & 53, 119.18 & 131–2, 126.48 & 99, 127.104, VP 5.16.18–26, B 1.4–5; hence he is Indra's friend, H 2.1.6, 28.43, 110.19 & 41) or a quarrel (*kalaha-priya*, B 1.3 & 5), and causes many troubles (cf. H 1.35.18, 2.1.30–1, 22.49ff., 57.17, 65.45, VP 4.9.5, 5.1.66, 15.3). Also cf. his epithet *priya-saṃvāda* in an ironic sense (H 1.3.8, VP 1.15.91). Therefore, at times, he gets cursed (cf. H 1.3.8–14 & 25, VP 1.15.10, 6.5.43, BhP 6.5.43). Further, cf. La Vallée-Poussin, "Musīla et Nārada," *Mélanges chinois et*

bouddhiques 5, Brussels, 1936-7, pp. 189-222; Gonda, *Aspects*, pp. 221ff.; Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strassburg 1915, pp. 188ff.

30. Cf. H 3.84.4–13, 27.11–3; see Gonda, *VŚ*, p. 205, note 37 and p. 210, note 192.

31. Cf. AS 4.46: the essence of Sattva is *prajñā*; Sattva is the cause of *jñāna*.

32. Cf. AS 1.41, H 3.85.20–1, 87.19, VP 1.8.7, Śakuntalā 1.1, KumS 6.26, 7.76 & 87. Each form has its own *mūrti-pa*: (1) Bhava, (2) Śarva, (3) Īśāna, (4) Paśupati, (5) Ugra, (6) Rudra, (7) Bhīma, and (8) Mahādeva. See Gonda, *VŚ*, pp. 40ff.; Rao, *Elements*, II, pp. 44–6 & 375ff.

33. This epithet seems to have been exclusively applied to Rudra in the later Vedic texts. See J. Gonda, *Epithets in the Ṛgveda*, 's-Gravenhage 1959, pp. 127–8. Cf. MNUp 295.

34. Cf. H 3.28.8.

35. See N on H 2.72.43, where is cited the following verse:

sarvajñatā tṛptir anādi-bodhaḥ svatantratā nityam alupta-śaktiḥ /
ananta-śaktiś ca vibhor vibhu-jñāḥ ṣaḍ āhur aṅgāni maheśvarasya //

Cf. the six *aṣṭakas* in ŚvetUp 1.4 (and comms. on it).

36. Cf. BAUp 3.9.4.

37. One of the five manifestations of Śiva (*pañca-vaktra* or *-brahman*). They are, (1) Īśāna, (2) Tatpuruṣa, (3) Aghora, (4) Vāmadeva, (5) Sadyojāta. See MNUp 277, AP 304.24–6, and Gonda, *VŚ*, pp. 35 & 42ff. Rudra as *aghora-ghora-rūpa*: MBh 12.103.75, MNUp 282.

38. See MNUp 279–81. Cf. the nine Śaktis of Śiva, namely, (1) Vāmā, (2) Jyeṣṭhā, (3) Raudrī, (4) Kālī, (5) Kalavikāriṇī, (6) Balavikāriṇī, (7) Balapramathanī, (8) Sarvabhūtadamanī, and (9) Manonmanī (AP 304.20–1, and Rao, *Elements*, I, pp. 398–400).

39. Cf. Bhava in Note 32 above, and see MNUp 278.

40. See Note 38 above and the story narrated in H 3.58.1–53. Otherwise, one may find here an identification of Rudra with Saṅkarṣaṇa, whose names include Baladeva and Balarāma. Cf. SkS Indra 6.6 & 27, AS 2.4, 54.7, VP 2.5.19, KP 1.50.40. Hence Saṅkarṣaṇa is not infrequently regarded as the god of *jagat-saṃhāra* (LT 29.66, VP 5.9.28–9, BhP 3.11.30, GP 1.2.19). For Bala demon's single fight with Śaṃbara, see H 3.55.113–48.

41. These two verses are found only in the ms. called D.

42. See Note 38 above. Rudra as Kāla, cf. MBh 12.330.70, AS 35.89,

58.32. He is, as Mahākāla (DK p. 7), the chief god of Ujjainī (W. Ruben, *Eisenschmiede und Dämonen in Indien*, Leiden 1939, p. 208; cf. H 2.126.158, 2. 127.1). For the alliteration of *kāla* and derivatives of *kal-*, see BhG 10.30, AS 3.32, 4.48, 6.49 & 50–1, 7.7, LT 5.26, 16.4, 17.51, VDhUP 1.72.1, *kālo loka-prakālanaḥ*, H 1.3.39=VP 1.15.112, cf. H 1.6.25. Further, see P.E. Dumont, *L'Īśvaragītā*, Baltimore-Paris 1933, p. 185.

43. See Rao, *Elements*, II, pp. 396ff. In the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās there are twelve *vidyēśvaras* (SkS Indra 6.34; but eight in Brahma 6.72–4) or eight *vidyādhipatis* (VS 16.78–80, 23.3–4). For *vidyādhideva* as a Vibhava, see AS 5.51.

44. In epic and Purāṇic mythology, he is a member of the eleven Rudras and almost always united with Ajaikapāt. See MBh 1.60.2, 1.114.57, 5.112.4, 12.201.18, 13.17.100 (Ahirbudhna, one of Śiva's 1,000 names), H Cr. Ed. 3.42, 3.14.41, 3.70.24, VP 1.15.122 (a son of Viśvakarman), MP 3.29, 171.39, AP 18.42, 219.23 (a son of Śiva and Satī), PdS 3.10.126. In GP 1.6.35, he appears as Viṣṇu. The word is found already in the *Rigveda*, for a name of the serpent lying in the abysmal waters (RV 7.34.16–7).

45. Cf. PauS 31.150–2, ĪS 20.127, VP 1.12.80, BhP 12.9.4.

46. See MBh 6.91.17, 7.130.30, 8.37.23, H 1.40.22–3, 42.10ff., VP 4.6.11, MP 172, VāmanaP 73, KumS 2.

47. For the story of this battle, see H 1.46.48 through 1.48.51, VDhUP 1.122ff. This demon is said to be reborn as Kaṃsa (H 1.54.64–5, VP 5.1.22 & 64, BhP 10.1.68).

48. Cf. H 1.44.40–7, 1.48.3–4 & 32–3, 3.76.2–5, SkS Indra 3.41–9. For his epithets, see H 2.51.63. For his image, see H.D. Smith, *A Sourcebook of Vaiṣṇava Iconography*, Madras 1969, pp. 209–19. Also cf. Mallmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–50; Gonda, *Aspects*, pp. 101ff.; J. Charpentier, *Die Suparṇasage*, Uppsala 1920, pp. 328ff.

49. Cf. H 1.40.23, 48.46, 2.48.25.

50. Cf. AS 59.69. 60.20. For the word *saṃhitā*, see PauS 39.8–9.

51. Cf. H 1.3.77. Otherwise, "and with the rules of the former ages"; compare *pañca-mahākalpa* (Hopkins, *Great Epic*, pp. 115–6).

52. Cf. AS 3.24, 11.16 through 12.54. They are Veda, Upaniṣad, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, and Pāśupata. See MBh 12.336.76 (cf. 337.1), PauS 38.305 & 307, AS 12.3ff., 33.17–20, 51.41, 54.4–5, LT 1.41–3, VS 3.46, VDhUP 1.74.34, 2.22.133, AP 219.61, ŚBh on 2.2.42 (p. 705.1–4). As to the original Scripture (*mūla-* or *prakṛti-veda*), see AS 11.16–48, PauS 10.211ff., PMS 1.32–77,

ĪS 21.197, ŚPS 2.38ff. Also compare four kinds of *siddhāntas* in the Pāñcarātra, (1) Āgama, (2) Mantra, (3) Tantra, and (4) Tantrāntara (PauS 38.293–309, PMS 19.522–43, ĪS 21.560–82, ŚPS 2.54, PRR pp. 3ff., Y p. 30).

53. Cf. JS 1.70ff., ĪS 21.513–89, VP 3.2.56–7, 3.4ff., 4.6ff..

54. His full name is Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa (MBh 12.327.15, 334.9, 337.3, VP 3.4.5 & 7). He is a son of Parāśara and Gandhavatī (MBh 12.337.3; or Acchodā, H 1.18.41; or Satyavatī, H 1.42.62). He is supposed to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu (MBh 12.334.9, 337.4 & 55, H 1.42,61, VP 3.2.56, 3.5, 4.5, VDhUP 1.74.22ff., KP 1.50.48–9, AS 5.56; cf. BhG 10.37), who is repeatedly to be born in every Dvāpara period to divide the originally single Veda into four (H 1.18.41, 42.62, VP 3.2.56, 3.5, VDhUP *ibid*). The four Vedas are taught to his five pupils, Paila, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini, Sumati or Sumantu, and Sūta Romaharṣaṇa or Śuka, with the *itihāsa-purāṇa* as the *pañcama veda* (MBh 12.327.15–8, 337.11, VP 3.4.7–10; *mahābhārata-kṛt*, MBh 12.334.9, VP 3.4.5, cf. MBh 12.337.10, BhG 18.75). This may explain his other name, Vedavyāsa (MBh 12.327.15, H 1.42.61, VP 3.2.56, 3.3, 7, 11 & 19, 4.3), which could perhaps mean "a distributor of the Vedas" (cf. *vedān vy-as-*, VP 3.2.57, 3.9 & 11, 4.3 & 6; *veda-mahānidhāna*, MBh 12.337.4). In the *VP* there is a reference to twenty-eight Vedavyāsas in the past (VP 3.3.10–9) and a future one (VP 3.3.20). In the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition he was identified with Bādarāyaṇa, the famous author of the *Brahma-sūtra*; e.g., Āg p. 53.17ff. (also note his epithet there, *sakala-lokādarśa-bhūta*-paramabhāgavata; and to him is ascribed the teaching of *ekānta-gati* by Nārada, see MBh 12.336.79), ŚBh on 2.2.42 (p. 701.3, p. 702.9); Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 2, pp. 432–3. Also cf. Hopkins, S. *Great Epic*, pp. 58ff.; Chatterji, *JBRAS* 16, pp. 73–87; Kane, *HDhŚ*, Vol. 5, p. 1171.

(continued)

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Āg	Āgamaprāmāṇyam by Śrī Yāmunāchārya Swāmin, ed. by R.M. Śāstrī, Benares, 1900.
Ait	Aitareya
AKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ALS	The Adyar Library Series, Madras.
AnirS	Aniruddha-saṃhitā, ed. by A.S. Iyengar, Mysore, 1956.
ĀnSS	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.
AP	Agni-purāṇa, KSS 174, 1966.
AS	Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā, ALS 4, 1966.
AV	Atharva-veda, with Sāyana's comm., ed. by S. P. Pandit, 4 vlos., Bombay, 1895–98.
B	Bālacaritam, *Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakram*, Plays ascribed to Bhāsa, ed. by C.R. Devadhar, POS 54, 1962, pp. 511ff.
BAUp	Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad, ĀnSS 15, 1953.
BhG	Bhagavad-gītā, with the Comm. of Śaṅkara, POS 1, 1950.
BhP	Bhāgavata-purāṇa, ed. by N. Rāma Ācārya, NSP, 1950.
BI	Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.
Br	Brāhmaṇa
BS	Brahma-saṃhitā, Tantrik Texts 15, Calcutta, 1929.
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.
BSS	Bombay Sanskrit Series
CHI	The Cultural Heritage of India, 6 vols., Calcutta.
ChSS	The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi.
ChUp	Chāndogya-upaniṣad, *The Upanishadbhashya*, Works of Shankaracharya Vol. II part 1, ed. by H.R. Bhagavat, Poona, 1927,

	pp. 113–334.
CS	Caraka Saṃhitā by Agniveśa, ed. by J.T. Āchārya, NSP, 1941.[3]
DK	Daśakumāracarita, NSP, 1867.
G	Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde
GopBr	Gopatha-brāhmaṇa, BI 69, 1872.
GOS	Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.
GP	Garuḍa-purāṇa, KSS 165, 1964.
H	Harivaṃśa, with the Comm. of Nīlakaṇṭha, ed. by R. Kinjawadekar, Shriman-Mahābhāratam 7, Poona, 1963.
HDhŚ	History of Dharma-śāstra, by P.V. Kane, 5 vols., Poona.
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series, Cambridge (Mass.)
IA	Indian Antiquary
IHQ	The Indian Historical Quarterly
ĪS	Īśvara-saṃhitā, ed. by Ananthācārya, Sastramuktavali 45, Kanchi, 1923.
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JGIS	Journal of the Greater Indian Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JS	Jayākhya-saṃhitā, ed. by E. Krishnamacharya, GOS 54, 1967.
K	Kathāsaritsāgara, ed. by O. Prasad & K.P. Parab, NSP, 1889.
Kau	Kauṣītaki
KaUp	Kaṭha-upaniṣad, *The Upanishadbhashya*, pp. 36–77.
KP	Kūrma-purāṇa, ed. by R.S. Bhattacharya, Varanasi, 1967.
KSS	The Kashi Sanskrit Series, Varanasi.

KSVS	Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha Series, Tirupati.
KumS	Kumārasaṃbhava, ed. by V.L. Panshikar, NSP, 1935.
LT	Lakṣmī-tantra, ed. by V. Krishnamacharya, ALS 87, 1959.
Manu	Manu-smṛti, KSS 114, 1970.
MārkP	Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, ed. by K.M. Banerjea, BI 29, 1855–62.
MāUp	Māṇḍūkya-upaniṣad, *The Upanishadbhashya*, pp. 424–497.
MBh	Mahābhārata, Crit. ed. by V. S. Sukthankar *et al.*, Poona, 1933-59.
MNUp	Mahānārāyaṇa-upaniṣad, by J. Varenne, 2 vols., Paris, 1960.
MP	Matsya-purāṇa, ĀnSS 54, 1907.
MS	Maitrāyaṇī-saṃhitā, ed. by D. Satavalekara, Paradi, no date.
MuUp	Muṇḍaka-upaniṣad, *The Upanishadbhashya*, pp. 498–531.
N	Nīlakaṇṭha
NIA	The New Indian Antiquary
NM	Nyāyamañjalī, VSS 8, 1895.
NS	Nāradīya Saṃhitā, KSVS 15, 1971.
NSM	Nyāyasiddhānta-muktāvalī, KSS 6, 1972, and KSS 212, 1972.
NSP	Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay
P	Purāṇa
PauS	Pauṣkara-saṃhitā, ed. by S. Rāmānuja Muni, Bangalore, 1934.
PdS	Pādma-saṃhitā, 2 parts, Crit. ed. by S. Padmanabhan & c., Pāñcarātra Pariśodhana Pariṣad Series 3 & 4, Madras, 1974/84.
PMS	Pārameśvara-saṃhitā, ed. by Govindācārya, Śrīraṅgam, 1953.
POAS	Proceedings of American Oriental Society
POS	Poona Oriental Series
PR	Pañcarātra
PRR	Pāñcarātrarakṣā by Vedāntadeśika, ALS 36, 1967.
PS	Parama-saṃhitā, ed. and tr. by S.K. Aiyangar, GOS 86, 1940.

Raghuv	Raghuvaṃśa, ed. by K.P. Parab, 2nd revised ed., NSP, 1888.
RTS	Rahasyatrayasāra, tr. by R.R. Ayyangar, Kumbakonam, 1956.
RV	Rigveda Saṃhitā, ed. by F. Max Müller, 6 vols., London, 1890–92.
s	sūtra
S	Saṃhitā
ŚatBr	Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, ed. by A. Weber, ChSS 96, 2nd ed., 1964.
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
ŚBh	Śrībhāṣya, ed. by R.D. Karmarkar, 3 parts, Univ. of Poona Sanskrit and Prakrit Series 1, Poona, 1959–64.
SBH	The Sacred Books of the Hindus
SDS	Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha, ed. by V.S. Abhyankar, Government Oriental Series 1, 2nd ed., Poona, 1951.
SK	Sāṅkhya Kārikā, par A-M. Esnoul, Paris, 1964.
SkS	Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā, ed. by V. Krishnamacharya, ALS 95, 1969.
SM	Siddhānta-muktāvalī, KSS 6, 1951.
Sp	Spandapradīpikā, VSS 14, 1898.
SPBh	Sāṃkhyapravacana-bhāṣya, ed. by R. Garbe, HOS 2, 1895.
ŚPS	Śrīpraśna-saṃhitā, ed. by S. Padmanabhan, KSVS 12, 1969.
SS	Sātvata-saṃhitā with Comm. of Alaśiṅga Bhaṭṭa, ed. by V.V. Dwivedi, Library Rare Texts Publication Series 6, Varanasi, 1982.
ST	Sātvata-tantra, ChSS 79, 1934.
ŚvetUp	Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad, ĀnSS 17, 1890.
T	Tantra
TA	Taittirīya-āraṇyaka, 2 vols., ĀnSS 36, 1898.

TBr	Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa, 3 vols., ĀnSS 37, 1898.
TK	Tattvakaumudī, ed. by A. Mishra, Ilahabad, 1966.
TMBr	Tāṇḍiya-mahābrāhmaṇa, 2 vols., BI 62, 1870/74.
TS	Taittirīya-saṃhitā, ed. by Dh. Anantaśāstrī, Paradi, 1957.
TSS	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series
TT	Tattvatraya with the Comm. of Varavara, ChSS 4, 1889.
TUp	Taittirīya-upaniṣad, *The Upanishadbhashya*, pp. 335–392.
Up	Upaniṣad
URC	Uttararāmacarita, NSP, 1949.
VājS	Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā, ed. by A. Weber, ChSS 103, 2nd ed., 1972.
VAS	Vedārtha-saṅgraha, ed. and tr. by J.A.B. van Buitenen, Deccan College Monograph Series 16, Poona, 1956.
VDhUP	Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa, Veṅkaṭeśvara ed., Bombay, 1913.
VedS	Vedāntasāra, ed. with notes by G.A. Jacob, Bombay, 1911.
Veṇ	Veṇīsaṃhāra, ed. by K. P. Parab revised by N. R. Āchārya, NSP, 1940.
Vikram	Vikramacarita, ed. and tr. by F. Edgerton, 2 vols, HOS 26–7, 1926.
VKS	Viṣvaksena-saṃhitā, ed. by L.N. Bhatta, KSVS 17, 1972.
VMS	Viśvāmitra-saṃhitā, ed. by U.S. Bhatta, KSVS 13, 1970.
VP	Viṣṇu-purāṇa with Comm. of Śrīdhara, ed. by G. Śāstri &c, 7 parts, Calcutta, 1966.
VŚ	Viṣṇuism and Śivaism
VS	Viṣṇu-saṃhitā, ed. by T. Ganapatisastri, TSS 85, 1925.
VSS	The Vizyanagar Sanskrit Series, Benares.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
Y	Yatīndramatadīpikā, ed. by V.S. Abhyankar, ĀnSS 50, 1906.
Yāj	Yājñavalkya-smṛti, ed. by V.L. Pansikar, 2nd ed., NSP, 1918.